1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

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## THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Lawyer

[463]

Merchant

Women

Doctor

[759]

Sailor, beware

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (C)]

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701 leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*,
643 "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often
[776] occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 The continual election of such high officers from the same
646 family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth:
463 trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

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a tribal economy which was based on living off the land. The opening up of intertribal contact through settlement and warfare and the growth of material and ritualistic wants, led to the establishment of a class, the *pochteca*, whose members traveled all over Mexico, exchanging local for foreign produce. They had their own god and apparently lived in a special quarter. From the valley they carried obsidian, cloth and rope, which in the hot country they exchanged for shells, tropical feathers, jade, cacao and other regional riches. In time they performed an important political function, spying out towns to conquer and reporting on the tribute which could be exacted. There is a very modern touch about the economic and political functions of these merchants who so often brought military conquest in their train.' (See Plate 38.)

Craftsmanship, with the growth of technique, must have attracted many men to whom straight agriculture seemed drab and unrewarding. Potters, jewelers, weavers and featherworkers came to pursue these crafts to the exclusion of other labor. The enormous elaboration of the religion called into almost continual activity sculptors, masons and painters. The market, still important in Middle American Indian communities, had a profound social significance, for there, in addition to bartering his products for those of others, an Indian could hear the news and widen his social and intellectual horizons. (See Plates 34–35.)

The priesthood offered a relentless sort of career. Religion penetrated into every part of daily life, and the individual participated in great and complicated rituals. Civic eminence depended greatly on religious observance, and chiefs led in the direction of ceremonies. Therefore, it is hard to recog-

And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Ettalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamartimanj, atencantitimanj, petlantimanj, cuecuexocatimanj. 776

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn ezcalquaztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tlaloque, 796

[805]

coloti in quichichioaia yxiptla: quicuetiaia, quiujpiltiaia, quiconcatiaia, concapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtlaconalli: [778]

yoan quitlamanjliaia, quinanamiquj yn jtlenamacaxuh, yiauhtli, ixpan quitepevilia,

caiochicaoaz ilhujtioemj, quiçujcatia in calpoleque, yeujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in quicoaia, ixhoan quinextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaloque, yn apantlaca: yoan acalquetzque tiapaxiaco, in quitechieltia atl. [567] [463]

No iuh quichichioaia, no iuh quitlamamacaia, no iuh quicencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan interupan, tlaloque, quelteequja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca quimauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma: ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, quitlacotonjlia,

iuh quitoaia: quiiauhtladanj in tlacatl, quitlamacehuja yn jmaceual: yoan vncan mocuelilmati, ynic quimahujztiliaia atl:

quilnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn ixquich tetech monequj.

No iuh quimauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtociotl: ic quilnamjquja; yn je tlamanjzti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in maceoalli, ic vellamati, ic vel nemj. 776

Auh yuju, in muchichioaia: mozaoaia, texotica, motenujltec, motexotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuxque, xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, atlacujlolhuiupile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcueie, atlacueçonanchimale, aiuchicaoaqz, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este etalli era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210): "*el maíz cocido por sí solo llamaude pajolly pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (atl) le llaman etally.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . *la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienê sus granjerias, en el agua como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dezian, que estas tres diosas: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiessen, viuir, y multiplicar.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintauan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenja en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleua el sacramento, quando vna sola la lleua: y esi como cetro, dezia diosa.*" See p. 3, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tzapotlan tenan.

blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[88] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[89] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Totoco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[90] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[91] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his Yopi-crown[92] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[93] was in his hand.

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecalíltiaia, qujnnamjquj- 776
in tiiácaoaa, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti: 796

yoan iñ ixqujchtí, çan papaquinj, yn mjhivintia, tlatla- [524]
mati, moquichnequj, moquichnenequj, amjquizmauhque,
teca momotlanj, iactlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiao-
mamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalixque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia
yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco. [346]

Auh yn *totecti* njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no [292]
tlatlaeoa: tzapeoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, quje- [352]
zochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia. [302]

Auh inda aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcocoieia: qujtoa, ma
njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnaehimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, 776
yiopitzinn contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tla-
caieoatl, yieoaio malli," tzonchaioale, teucujtlanacoche,
tzapocueie, tzicnile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaz-
tli yn jmac icac.

**Ninetеenth Chapter,** which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[94]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[95] the stout traveling staves[96] with

**Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo,** ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmavizтiliaia, qujtlaquen- 776
tiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ynotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj 463
484

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87. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*En esta fiesta, bailan como en juego de cañas: de manera que si un vando, era de la parte desta diez, o veinte del dias antes: y estos todos, traian vestidos de pellejos de hombres que avian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas valerosas, y esforçadas: que no temian en nada la muerte: osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los unos, con los otros, se exercitaua, en el exercicio de la guerra: peleauan los unos, a los otros: hasta no quedar, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto.*" *Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as "*Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Einige Kapitel*, has *ocuxcan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Totocco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototeti.*" *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tototeti as "*los muertos a honra del dios Totec.*"

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizzolchiuhticac*, translated as "*er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung.*" Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mizzolchiuhticac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yepi* as "the red people" (Tlapanecs), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they wore pointed caps.

90. "The word chicuacuilli means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also see the chicuacuilli with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *ixcac-tecuhtli* or *yacatecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 77). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacaxitlahqui* ("*el que tuvo la nariz agujerada*"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de Méxica* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiucatecutli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecotli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecuhtli with Izcuinpehqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una cuña, manera, que ellos llaman vitzel. Y tambien traen de otra manera de bacula,*

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, incāpa cochinqne, vncan qujtilquetza, inpan tlamaceoa, mjço, qujcoṗalemjlia, ynjc qujtlauhtia yn jnteouh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatatequjlia, yteicneliliz:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic motenteoa, puchteca yinque: itech canque, yn itoca inteuh, yiacatecutli:

Ostomeca, anaoac calaquinj, vel qujtemoctinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtiqne, anaoatl qujxaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalcīlauhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiuj, elciciuhtiuj, mociauhquetztiuj, ynellelaciltiuh, ynjnqua tlatlatiuh, intenal qujmacujtiuj, intonalomjuh ietiuh:

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemoujà, qujtlecauja, ixquichca ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic mequetztia:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in trinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in tzinitzcan çaqua: quauhtli, in tequaneoatl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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*que es vna cosa negra lisjsima, mucha: sin hedir ninguna: que es como juncos, de las que se visen en españa.*" Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the leaves all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the leaves as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesman who went into the *tierra caliente (oztomeca anaoaca calaquini)* (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: "*Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Wegsgangenen'), war der Gott der Kaufmannsfahrten der ostlichen anaoac calaquini der feindlichen Kustlande, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ozomelan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototi*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Nanalcatomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* tlatoque.

[103] 96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the term as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states "*Estuvose hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anáhuac Xicalanco as the coast of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 436.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y itzili piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene mancha, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Teoxihuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que cría en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, doblegansse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tocado que tiene en la cabeça este ave (quetzaltototl) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llamase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene este ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; as preciosa esta pluma y llámanla tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by this name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crian en el pecho y en las cabeçera y debajo de las alas; son la mitad pristas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzoquechol* means red *quechol*i or precious *quechol*i. It is an aquatic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 633). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n., gives *Platalea Ajaja rósea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtotoqui* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta*? *S. Cearulea* (*ibid.*, p. 634). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y estiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas aparillas (y) remedan al color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llamas de fuego y como oro, crianse en Anáhuac.*"

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[165] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[166] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He *did* him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[168] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[167] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[169] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[169] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcapuztalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They *save* them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pocteconatl, in aiuiectli, in aquauitl, yn atzaccauitl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalirtica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlaelhecalhuja in chaneque. [292]

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoiomjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa qujça, iehoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma: [263] [265]

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yspoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia. [431] [301]

Auh yn jquac calacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: inqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic motetittidaia: [501]

mjtoa, mocripacq, cenca qujmavirtiliaia yn itopil, yn jdlacçaia yiacatecutli: 776

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia. 796 [778]

Auh intla aca tralti, iehoatl caltiaia, qujzeoaia in jtsouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmotetutiaia in chiconqujauitl, anoço chalmecaciotl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzacac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca axcaputzalco: motlabtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoaxque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca: 776 796 567

ynjc iehoan qujnmictique, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujoqujxtililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichiotal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn iaxmo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmjxnextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtitique:

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164. *Cf.* Tezcatzoncatl (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yaoxoloiuhqui "*preparamento representa persona, que tiene virtud, ó habilidad, para mejor gracioxamente, ó engañar, y es sobre, y sujeto (que es propio condition de Mercaderes)* . . . ."

165. *Cf.* Sahagún (*Lengua Kapitel*, p. 32) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §43.

166. Book IX of the *Historia* general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonia que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

167. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as "*iglesia del barrio, ó parrochia*" (Spanish version).

168. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: "*Estos ductos que mojaban o astes cañavas.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

169. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecaciotl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tamaulipecas; Nacxitl is Queretaran.

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

532 And they represented the mountains, they made their
782 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
made in human form, made to look like men.

755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held
a vigil and made music for them.

755 During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused
people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

●463] And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme there-
upon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

popocatepetl, itzac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço
quexquitetl tepetl in quimmocaz in quiyiquiz.

Auh in quimpiquja, in quimixiptlatiaia in tutepe, çan
tzoalli, quiztlacatlaiaia, quiztlacatlachieltiria, tlacatlachix-
ticatca:

quintlantiaia aiocachtli, auh in quimjtelolotiaia aiecutli:
in quenamj yntlatquj in quimixiptlatiaia, in quipiquija
çan no iuhquj ynic quinchichioaia.

Auh yoan quichioaia, amatetzujtl, colchachapatzaia,
colchipiniaia, quinquequentiaia:

auh in cuquj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlanlchachapa-
tzalli, mecatitech quipipiloaia, mecatitech quimmetechilpiaia,
quimmetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacuioque in
tepicme:

hiçamacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, ostopilquaujtl,
necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn
itech antoc tetzujtl.

Auh tzilacaintli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaixtitatactli: ymixpan
mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic
mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in
machioque catca, yn quinchichioaia, in quintlaliaia: aiac
çan moiocuiaia, in calla in quinchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in quintlalhujaia, mjtoa: quinmelcxoal-
tiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic quintoçaviia,
quincujcatia:

in cricoal xapa in quintlamanjlia, tamalololli in
quinmacaia, quimanaia ymjxpã, in tlamacazque, in
tepiccujca:

no xapa in quintlamacaia cricoal, yoan quintlapichilia,

quinmaquiquijtalliaia tecuciztli in quimpichiliaia, yoan
vilacapitztli, cocuyolod,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaquinj, haavienj,
nihivintianj, tecocomeltianj, cocoleque, no tlamacaia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman quimmictia yn tepicme, quinquech-
cotona, quinquechcuj, quinquechillacatzoa, çatepan quincero-
ololoa, conecucuj, in tepictzoalli, quiyuqui yn calmecac yn
vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiquinj, njman ie yc calaquih yn itlacoanotzal-
hoan, yn jcoxocoa, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie ioxatiuh, in ie tevtlac nimã ie ic tlaxaxa,
motlaouncatlalia in vevetlaca, yn ie chicuaoque, yn oclachi-

117. *Gods of the air, of water, and of rain* (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Itzac tepetl (Itzac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. *Models of dough* (*vna masita*), *in the Spanish ordinance*; *Sobre vnalero ic tetzquetzchiloa Xamaca dos Standehombres* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles figuras de gentes de valle, a los cuales papeles llamaban amatetzuitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 128).

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Ixcoçauhqui: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

## Chapter 10
### Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli*, that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the pains of] their death.

1. Marginal notation: *Arquitrue ho dize uoz.*
2. Marginal notation: *Derramã olluco.*

## Cap. 10.
### Xocotl vetzi

Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuãtada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas ceriṃonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

2: Marginal notation: *Pone al ombro.*

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que quiere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nostoros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

796 777 [805] [304]

### Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

### Capi. 19.

*1 A* Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
*2 b* tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
*3 c* en ellos nacian tenjan malos sucessos *c 30*
*4 d* en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mi- *d 31*
seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoquich, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

[551] [578] [787]

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en doziẽtos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

### Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

### De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y jncensauan: y en el medio matauã capitiuos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

796 [776] [785]

### The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

### La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

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fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornices y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome xochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

### The Third Movable Feast

In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

### La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decebdian a la tierra, atauiauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

### The Fourth Movable Feast

In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine: and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

### La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

### The Fifth Movable Feast

In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

### La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

### The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac*, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

### La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

In this house, which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

**The Seventh Movable Feast**

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

**The Eighth Movable Feast**

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetzuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

**The Ninth Movable Feast**

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl. [796] [778]

**La septima fiesta moujble.**

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjqujztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

**La octaua fiesta moujble**

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujaujtl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetеujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [776] [784] [778]

**La nona fiesta moujble.**

En el signo llamado ce qujaujtl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechiores, que estauan presos. Y tambiẽ el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superstician: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viesen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[the calmecac. — Analyst]

### The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

### La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

### The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

### La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras grageria̅s, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

### The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

### La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y dello yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

### The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

### La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tezcollotl*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzititzilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujttli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo:

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo, muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli:

In iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalácachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana:

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: exan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixqujchtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

796x [300]
796x 292
796x 293
[237]
[535]
[314]
796x 535
[463]

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 22.

7. "*O amarenas*," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Huppa tecuili (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish column reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, que traia ygual con flor, de la yerua que se llama atlacueyonaua.*" In Vol. III of the Rebuschati., p. 336, in Dr. Heinrich Lisle's essay: "Ensayo de nomenclatura e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Nos. 368 a 965) del libro XI. de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," *atlacueyonaua* is defined as "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans, Hook, Nimfácea.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llamam tzutli y son estos mayores quando ya son grandes y crian: tienenen tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; tienen sola esta diferencia en ellos, este papagayo tiene mas en amarillo: y por esto le llamam tzutli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las colas, hechas de plumas de aquello*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulin*, however, may be an element in *fanfarronada*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamam cuchin (y) es muy semejante al que llamam tzinzon: tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo coloradas, las exhillas y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado oscuro, mezclado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñitas que estan sobre la cerui del ala que llamam teteuil, son amarillas esterioladas de colorado; el vello, como pelo rubio, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado mezclado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. Anderson (Sipán, *op. cit.*: "*Iuro certain gestes en dansant*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando bailaua en el areyto, yuase arrimando al baston, y abaxandole [sic] a compas del baylo.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Anal.ed.]

X796 And the old women and the old men, those who
887 made and refined salt, and sold and trafficked in salt,
463 and those who dwelt in the salt marshes, drank wine.
273 Wine was drunk, and one became besotted. In their midst they poured out the wine in a flower-decked jar.

iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatiqve, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlâtlaoana tlâtlaoano, motlatlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapaztica qujoalmana yn vctli:

X796 One of the men poured out [the wine], and prepared it and distributed it. This one was not one who
273 had made [his wife] pregnant, whose wife was with child. If he who poured out the wine had made [his wife] with child, [then] he would not make one drunk; men would not be drunk. They would only counterfeit drunkenness; no one would become besotted [from] the wine.

ce tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo ichoatl in tlavtztia, in vtztli ycioxuh. Auh intla tlautztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntiqz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itechquiçaz in vctli.

[578] And when the feast day had ended, when it had been celebrated, at nightfall all then lay about. And some who were well-besotted insulted one another, or belabored others, or cried out at others. And at last they fell exhausted, and slept as they fell. And whoever yet had wine which he had left over, which he had left because he had been sated, which was named sleep-producing wine, afterwards, next day, he drank and finished it.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec neteteco: auh in cequintin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi; auh yn aquin, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc inquj, in qujtlamja:

683 And any who had mishandled others, or brawled
X796 with them, or cried out at them, thereupon, when day broke, when they had come to their senses, supplicated [the injured ones to drink] this same wine, that they might satisfy them. And those who had not drunk, who had been cried out at or affronted, they let themselves be satisfied with [drinking] the wine; the offense was pardoned, and he held not against [the supplicants] their dispute, their injuries, etc.

auh yn aquin temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, quiniquac ya otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie iio ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolceuja ynica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiquilia, yn inneaoaliz, yn inniemictiliz etc.

Here ended and concluded the feast of Tecuilhuitontli.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder sash of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, braves! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in mateoxtli, tlaximalteoxtli, vel quipetlaca, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncā titicujtztic, in vncā xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcalo xocotl, vel cōnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepītlazque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin catca.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhquin mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzō, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo omacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no eteti tzocioiōl in qujchioa, qujquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmā ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzion:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, ixquich amotlapal:

njmā ie ic qucoxtiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujquāmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie neoxtiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzion, cenca chachalacoa:

5. Probably pronounced in manner. Cf. the Jourdanton-Hendon edition, p. 129.
6. Reference could be to either paper or head (*ahuitzotli*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

given the name Itztlacolinhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacolinhqui is god of] frost. [Cinteotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together—not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

lic yiatiuitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamartivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa onmotlalia.

796x [292]

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotlcoac, tlatlavillotl coa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxqujch tlacat pipilti, ie qujchixtoque ipan ōnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca quijpotonja icpac, yoan icxic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca quijxaoa: in aca cōmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliz: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan ic̄iuhca: njmā ic cactivetzi, njman ic vivilo.

[302] [292]

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *meiaalí*.[10]

Auh in ovivilloac: njmā ic oalquiça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necococampa oome qujtzatzacutiuh: moteneoa meotli.

[292]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

Auh in ocōcencauhque, njmā ic onmoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec ce conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in quimjctia, quimeltetequj: navintin, ith quinchioa:

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cinteotl or Itztlacolinhqui. At a little distance, her Huastecs went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

in oquimōmjcti in navintin, mec immac quinoalcaoa in tletlenamacaque, inje quinmjctizque, in oc coquintin mamalti: mec ieuh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: quivicatiuh in jconeuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacolinhquj: quiiacana in jcneuan vecapa quiztivi, omoconcauhque, inmemecamaxtli, yoan incujtlatecauh, in jichcauchiuh, mamalacaquexallo.

[293] [283]

And the midicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

Auh in titici, yoan in tenexnamacaque, necoc onotivi, cujcativi: quincujcatlaxilitivi in quaquacujlti,

[463] 796x 534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the *Tonalamatl* of the *Codex Borbonicus* and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Siler (*Mexico Required*, p. 177) relates the name to *maíz*; possibly it could as well be related to *maul*.

seized [the game], all fell upon it. All that escaped did not yet die.[4]

And when they did this, thereupon they dispersed and all returned. And the captors yet remained and slew more [game]. And those who caught a deer or a coyote, those Moctezuma favored with capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one might array oneself [in it]. And if one were not a captor, one might only place [his cape] in a basket, or sell it. And Moctezuma offered the captors food, and they drank.

And when [game] had been slaughtered on Çacatepetl, thereupon all departed. They took with them only the heads, carrying them in their hands, dripping drops of blood. When they reached their homes, they hung up [the heads]. And they took Moctezuma there.

And when they went out upon the grass, then they offered paper vestments to as many as would die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl, many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, either two or three. These the wine makers ceremonially bathed,[5] they who made wine for the great chief.

The third for whom they died was Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeuatl icue. Only two of them died. Only the majordomos secured [the victims]. And also those women, [each one named] Coatl icue, the wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl—these also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had come, when [it was] verily the feast of Quecholli, then the [space of] twenty days ended. Then went those who were to die, into the sand.[6] After midday, they then took them to the place where they would die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they came to encircle [the sacrificial stone], thereupon all came down [from the pyramid]. No more were they taken where they were guarded, but they took them there to the tribal temples. [There] they kept them in vigil all night, and watched and guarded them.

And when it was midnight, thereupon they took hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had cut the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the captive was] a man, he burned

tecujcujtivecho, izquich in tematitlampa quiça, in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aquin maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, quintlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, quimoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan quitlatiz tanaco, anoço quimonamaquiliz: yoan in tlamanjme quintlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atli.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic vlloatz, çaiio in intzontecon quioalhujvica intlan quimaana, chichipicativitz in atli, in oacico inchachan, aco quinpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan quizcoaia: iquac quinmacaia in imamatlatquj in izquintin mjquizque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequintin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome iehoatl in Izquitecatl, aço vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan quimaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in quinnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izquitecatl: no iquac quicuja in jmamatlatquj.

Aũh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhuitl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalaoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjquizque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec quinvica in vmpa mjquizque: quimõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloco, njmã ie ic oalteno, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa quinvivica in incacalpulco, crioal in quimtoçavia, quinpia, quinpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncuiva: auh in oquimõtzoncuique, njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia: in oquichtli, quitlatia, in jpan yoan itilma,

4. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *por quemarlos* might better be read for *despues*. Cf. also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 199).
5. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5. 6. Cf. *supra*, p. 97, n. 7.

**Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.**

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

**Ōñcan mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexinhtica muchioaia.** 796[K]

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexinhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amo tequjzqujo, amono tenexio: auh tlacatlaqualoia. [795] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xiiiiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl quiçaia, motenoua ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzittzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in totot, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalconquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jnconquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuecomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequasuuhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teuconconquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan quiçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cuciame, yoan in ichoantin motenoua, maçateca, vncan quintoloaia in cocoa, çan ioiolotiuja, cecciaca, incamatica in quimoonaaia, amo inmatica: çan quimontlanquechiaia, ynjc quimon- 796[K]

6. Gurlitt ("Beheiden Isten," p. 319) translates *tequjzqujo* as "*se esparcian la ceniza*." *Ahuexotlinque* appears in the same text, translated as "*se hallo entre ellos del agua*." Cf., however, *ahuexotli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecolotl*: *bubo*; *chichtli*: *buboneo* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K. in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 369.

Rats with sauce; hot maize gruel of many kinds; maize gruel with honey, with chili and honey, with yellow chili; white, thick gruel with a scattering of maize grains; sour, white maize gruel; sour, red maize gruel with fruit and chili; small, green tomatoes[20] with a maize gruel made with anonas; maize gruel made with amaranth and toasted maize; maize gruel with fish-amaranth seeds and honey; cold maize gruel; maize gruel with wrinkled chía,[21] covered with green chilis or small, hot chilis;[22] white maize gruel with chía,[23] covered with yellow chilis; maize gruel with chía, covered with squash seeds and with chili; maize gruel made of tortilla crumbs, and with ordinary and wrinkled chía, covered with small chilis.

toçanmolli, totonquj atolli, mjiec tlamantli, nequatolli, chilnequatolli, chilconio, quauhnexatolli tlaxincujtl, iztac xocoatolli, chichiltic, chilxocoatolli, mjltomatl inamjc chocoatolli, cauhatolli ixqujo, mjchiococuitl necuio, iztic atolli, chiantzotzolatolli, chilchopanj, anoço chiltecpinpanj, iztac chiauatolli chilcuepanj, chianpitzaoac atolli, aiohoachpanj chillo, tlaçiocuepalatolli chiantzotzollo, ioan chianio chiltecpinpanj

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All these foods came forth from within the house of the ruler.

in jxqujch tlamantli, y, tlaqualli icalitic, oalquixa tlatoanj.

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And daily a man, the majordomo, set out for the ruler his food—two thousand kinds of various foods; hot tortillas, white tamales with beans forming a sea shell on top; red tamales; the main meal of roll-shaped tortillas and many [foods]: sauces with turkeys, quail, venison, rabbit, hare, rat, lobster, small fish; large fish; then all [manner of] sweet fruits.

Auh in momoztlae, ice tlacatl calpixquj qujtequjlia in tlatoanj, in jtlaqual macujltzontli in nepapan tlaqualli, in totonquj tlaxcalli in jztac quatecujcujlli in chichiltic tamalli, in vej tlaqualli, tlaxcalmjmjlli: ioan cenca mjiec tlamantli in jmollo in jvical in totoli, çolli, maçanacatl, tochi, çitli, tuçan, chacali, topotli, tlacamjchin, njman iee in jxqujch necutic xochiqualli.

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And when the ruler had eaten, then all the food was divided. Apart, in the city, the lords ate, and all the people from surrounding lands—the ambassadors, the war messengers, the princes, the judges, the high priests, the seasoned warriors, the valiant men of war, the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths, the keepers of the gods, the priests, the singers, [the ruler's] pages, his servants, his jugglers, and the various artisans, goldsmiths, feather workers, cutters of precious stones, setters of mosaic, sandal makers, and turquoise cutters.[24]

Auh in jquac in oalaqua tlatoanj, njman ic motexcloa, in jxqujch tlaqualli: nononqua tlaqua in altepetl ipan tlatoque, ioan in jxqujch cemanaoacatl in tlatocatitlanti, in moiautitlique, in tlaçopipilti, in tecutlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoque, tiacahoan, tiachcahoan, telpuchtlatoque teupixque, tlamacazque, cujcanjme, in quezqujtlamantli, ixoloa, iiahachhoan, tetlaueuetzqujtique: ioan nepapan toltecatl, teucujtlapixque, amanteca, tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, cacçoque, teuxinque.

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[645]
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Then, in his house, the ruler was served his chocolate, with which he finished [his repast]—green, made of tender cacao; honeyed chocolate made with ground-up dried flowers—with green vanilla pods; bright red chocolate; orange-colored chocolate; rose-colored chocolate; black chocolate; white chocolate.[25]

Niman moteca in jcalitic: iecauj in jcacaoauh, xonoubquj cacaoaçintli, quauhnecujo cacaoatl, xochiocacaoatl, xonoubquj tlilxochio, chichiltic cacaoatl, vitztecolcacaoatl, xochipalcacaoatl, tiltic cacaoatl, itztac cacaoatl

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 237; small tomatoes: Sandon, *op. cit.*, green; Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499: "*los más chicos tolhuacan, es decir, de tomates.*"
21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Chía arrugada. Salvia spp.*" Sammarco, *op. cit.*, III, p. 466: *Salvia polystachia*; Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 230: *Salvia hispanica* Linn.
22. Sammarco, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496: *Capsicum microcarpum* DC.—"*De México, chile redipero, como del tamaño de una pulga y muy picante.*" In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 433, it is identified as *C. frutescens* L., *var. baccatum* L.: "*del tamaño de los mosquitos, a los que parece imitar en la pequeñez y en el color.*"
23. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 364: "*Salvia hispánica.* L. *Salvia*"; Sammarco, *op. cit.*, I, p. 480: *Salvia chian, S. hispanica* L.
24. The Spanish text has lechers, which would require asterisks.
25. *Tiltic* and *itztac* are as they appear in the Codex; *chiltic* and *itztac* are probably correct.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa, injc mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque. 533 292

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jzquitlamantli, mâcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mâçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujchecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujnomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxqujch monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixqujch tlamantli mâcehoallatqujtl, [534]

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl; ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl. [302 304]

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in jnchan catca tlatlacoti 567 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, tozneneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tlachichioaia, in jxqujch nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtlapitzquj, in tepozpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, tlaiecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jxqujch tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli. 463 344 231 136

13a. *Ninpixia*: probably *quinpixia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called *amantecas* after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Sahagún, *Hist. Gen.*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *nquanpixque* for *nquanpixque*, and begins with the next a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "*Casa de las fieras.*"



[p.46 is blank]

soms; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elodlaxcalli, ioan in jxqujch qualooj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioã tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioã in jxqujch tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [145]

Auh in ichoanin tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aqujn qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianqujzpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianqujztli, ioan tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oqujchti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 235, describes *oyoquilli* as "*hojas y ramas de los frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mesembryanthemum Mandoni* L.

[p. 70 is blank]

127 majority of the data which could not be considered as a result of Spanish influence were taken as remains of situations from before the Spanish conquest. In every case the principal citerion of accuracy was the congruity presented by the data themselves; particularly in the sifting of data in works written long after the conquest or by authors who did not come to Mexico in this period (Acosta, Torquemada, Clavijero, Gómara, etc.) but who had at hand information and documents which we now lack, or who saw remains atill little modified of the ancient social organization of Tenochtitlan.

The contorted form reflected by some arguments derives principally from the necessity of taking advantage of the few facts about the subject, which are not always specific or categorized, but which refer to secondary or derived cultural traits; and which suggest a prior basic situation necessary to their appearance.

/p. 21/ THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CALPULLI

/p. 23/ Chapter 2

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

565 In the sources for the history of Mexico we find data which beyond
463 doubt demonstrate the existence of social stratification among the Tenochcas and which have let a few authors think that the Tenochcas had social classes. These data are very diverse in nature and very abundant, but here only the more significant will be presented: the division between manual laborers and directors, the paying of tribute, the differentiation in the living standard, the relation between the strata and the calpullis, and the inheritance of property to a determined stratum.

With respect to the division of labor we find a great difference of activities between two types of people: those who undertook manual labor and those who undertook essentially directive tasks. We are told that the macehuales were the common people and laborers (1) and that

1. Zurita, p. 94.

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they worked at their crafts (2), that is, they were manual laborers.

2. Acosta, José de, p. 425. "crafts" [oficios] being considered a more or less specialized manual artisan activity.

On the other hand the pillis and the tecuhtlis had as occupations "to serve in war and in public office as governors and ministers of justice... squires... messengers... to oversee the sowing of seed or other things which were done in common or for their festivities and the service of the ruler" (3) and "to watch over the lands of the

3. Zurita, p. 89.

calpulli and defend them, to keep each marked in its proper fashion, and see to the boundaries between each, and where and with whose they bordered and who worked them, and who owned which and which were vacant... and who and when and to whom they were given" (4) and to see to it "that they be not entered upon" (5), and

4. Zurita, p. 90.

5. Zurita, p. 88.

they were "careful to protect the men of the calpulli and speak for them before the governors" (6); that is, that the pillis undertook tasks

6. Zurita, p. 90.

essentially directive or coordinative (7). With these data we can

7. With reference to Tlaxcalla, Muñoz Camargo tells us (p. 103) that the tecuhtlis /p. 24/ and pillis "are thought of as men of quality even when very poor who never carry out mechanical tasks or base or servile undertakings. They never allow themselves to carry a burden or dig with hoes or plows, saying that they are nobles [hidalgos] and that they will not apply themselves to these vile and base things, but rather

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are they to serve in wars and on the frontiers." This was surely what happened in Tenochtitlan although unfortunately we have no such clear affirmation for this place.

/p. 24/ assert that among the Tenochcas there was present a marked differentiation with respect to labor: there were people who undertook manual labor and people dedicated to directive activities. These latter, also appear in our data strongly related to the calpulli.

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The difference in the social division of labor which we have seen in the last paragraph had possibly as its principal manifestation the position with respect to the paying of tribute: some were tributaries and some received tribute. It is told us in this regard that "the poor macehuales worked all day for their tribute and in order to give food to them (to the lords) to eat; because in a village of a thousand people there are a chief /cacique/ and a hundred lords / principales/ among whom the village is divided into wards... and these eat and drink and loaf at the expense of the poor workers (or macehuales, as we have seen) who support it all; and this is a very old custom in all the provinces of the land" (8), (that is, also in Tenochtitlan and not through

8. López Gerónimo, 11, p. 151. Although the assertion of a confirmed pro-slavist, it is useful and synthesizes many isolated facts.

Spanish influence). From our data we conclude first, that the lords were approximately 10 percent of the population and moreover, that there was a division between people receiving tribute—those undertaking directive work—and people tributary—those who undertook manual work—, and there comes to light again the relationship between this social stratification and the division of land, only that now with respect to the paying of tribute, the lords receiving tribute were those in charge of the town wards. Everything is confirmed in other sources: we are told that the macehuales "worked a plot of land for their lord or head (of the calpulli) for his sustenance and gave him service according to the people there were in the village" (9). Another

9. Zurita, p. 142.

author tells us that the elders used to say "that the common people

565 contributed to their natural and legitimate masters in making their
463 houses and cultivating their plots... and they did the same for the
651 lords" (10). Taking into account all that has been said above it is

10. Anunciación, p. 237.

clear that the payment of tribute existed within the same Tenochca group and reflected a difference between two kinds of people, and that there existed a relationship between this stratification and the ward divisions. It also appears from our data that, besides the tribute to the lords, there was a tribute to the rulers [a los "señores"], to the chiefs [a los "caciques"], which is probably to say, to the chiefs of the whole group, not just to the lesser ward lords.

565 It is certain that as a result of the role in the division of labor and
511 of the difference between being tributary and tribute-receiving, great differences in the standard of living in the population came about in Tenochtitlan. The macehuales had "neither furniture, nor clothing other than what they wear on their persons, which is very poor, and one or two stones for grinding maize, and a few pots for cooking and a mat on which they sleep... and they eat little... the common
[651] people and the plebians are so tyrannized by their Indian lords that most of them have their rations taxed " (11). On the other hand we

11. Oviedo, III, p. 535. The weakness of the author cited vanishes by reason of its congruence with other authorities.

are told that the lords and rulers were always going to banquets and weddings (12) and that the princes slept in beds (13) and that the

12. López Gerónimo, II, p. 151.

13. Martín de Anglería, P., p. 470.

[525] rulers had and gambled with "precious stones and jewels and gold and featherwork, slaves, blankets of all sorts, and arms and trappings of war" (14). We have all seen, likewise, the diversity which the

14. Pomar, p. 27. Although the fact refers to Texcoco, it coincides with what is known in less

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categorical assertions such as that of the Codex Alcobiz (Laws which the Indians had) [Leyes que tenian los Indios].

codices show between the clothes and gear of the macehuales those of and the lords and rulers in illustrations of Sahagun, Mendoza, etc. All of these are facts which oblige us to think that there were great differences of richness and well-being within the population of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and that these differences existed between the macehuales and pillis.

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Another aspect which showed the differences between segments of the population was sexual life: "it is said that commoners have only one wife; but the lords can have concubines at their wish" (15), and

15. Mendieta, Eclesiastical History [Historia Eclestiástica], p. 297.

when they married "the noble women brought with them other maid-servants (and with all these women the men had)... much profit for they made them weave and make blankets, and perform other services of this sort" (16).

16. Motolinía, History [Historia], p. 164.

These data show us not only the well-being of the polygamous lords implicit in having a multitude of wives, but also the economic well-being derived from this polygyny, which was beyond the reach of the macehuales.

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However, it seems that this stratification also included groups of people dedicated to occupations other than agriculture since we are told that the merchants also had lords who went about with the heads of the calpullis (17), which makes us think that not all the merchants

17. Zurita, p. 143.

were /p. 26/ lords, and that therefore there obtained among them also the stratification of which we have been speaking. Complementing and clarifying the situation, we know that the merchants and the artisans, although they cultivated their land, did not give tribute by working the fields but in work of their particular occupation

565 463 (18) such as masons, carpenters, feather-workers and metal-workers

18. Zurita, p. 142.

(19). Although it is not made clear to us whether this tribute of

19. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

"merchants and artisans" was in relation to the rulers of the whole Tenochca group or only to the lords of the corresponding calpulli, it is very possible that in this tributation there occurred the same thing which happened to the workers which we have seen: they paid both. All this makes us think that the stratification which existed among the Tenochcas was not in layers of workers, artisans, merchants, and chiefs, but rather between the chiefs and the governed, be they laborers, artisans, or merchants. This conception is reinforced by our being told that the pochteca tlatoque (a term translated as the lords of the pochteca, that is, merchants) did not go on the trips of the merchants, but that they entrusted their "merchandise" to them that they sell it for them and later they divided the profit (20); which is

20. Sahagún, I., p. 351.

to say that within the group, differences of occupation were present which resulted in a stratification between people who worked as merchants and people who, because of another class of work (directive, as chiefs, as "lords") received part of the benefits obtained through "marketing." It is told of the artisans of Texcoco that the nobles also learned crafts, but only as a distraction (21). Assuredly a similar

21. Pomar, p. 38.

situation existed in Tenochtitlan and almost certainly corresponded to the division between pillis and macehuales, in groups of artisans.

565 428 It is advisable to make further clarifications with respect to the division between tributary macehuales and tribute-exacting pillis. One source tells us that although the lords had many women, they considered only one of them the most important and the children she bore [were considered] as inheritors of their position (22). Although the

/p. 47/ Chapter 5

## SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

463 There is another aspect of the social organization of the Tenochcas which has seemed to indicate that it was not based on kinship through common descent but rather on economic production: the social division of labor by specialized groups similar to guilds. Analyzing the data from the sources for the history of Mexico, it is found that, in this aspect as well as the preceding, the calpulli was a fundamental element.

Whether during a given period the laborers constituted the totality of the population of Tenochtitlan is something which we still do not know. What we do know is that by the time of the arrival of the Spanish a very complex situation was present. Through a reference made during the colonial period we know that all the inhabitants, although they might have another occupation, had their lands for cultivation (1) although they might farm very little (2). This surely

1. Torquemada, II, p. 430.

2. Description of the Archbishopric [Descripción del Arzobispado], p. 278.

was even more general before the arrival of the Spanish, that is, that cultivation was an activity common to the entire population, perhaps excepting the lords; still, it was not the only activity for all people, some having other occupations. Everybody could, "work a stone, twist a rope and procure the materials to make it, and [do] the other tasks which do not require much skill" (3). Complement-

3. Zurita, p. 189.

ing this, there was a differentiation in the activities of the people to produce those things "which were to be sold" (4) and a true labor

4. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

force market which was offered like any other merchandise (5).

5. Zurita, p. 83.

463 That is, there was a social division of labor present which we could call artisan. We know of the existence of merchants—people who specialized in the interchange of objects not produced directly by themselves. From this we can infer that there was a division of labor between laborers, artisans, and merchants in addition to that which we have already seen among /p. 48/ manual laborers and directors. Some authors have thought that these merchants constituted a social class (6) or the beginnings of a social class (7) or a

6. Moreno, M., 1931, p. 33; Toscano, S., 1946, p. 782.

7. Acosta Saignes, M., 1945, p. 21.

caste (8) or that the artisans constituted guilds (9) derived from clans

8. Thompson, J.E., 1933, p. 126.

9. Cunow, H., 1926, p. 275-278; Kohler, 1924, p. 29.

which became units of the social division of labor (10). Let us elucidate this.

10. Krickeberg, W., 1939, p. 287.

On one hand the merchants were counted in their calpullis (11),

11. Sahagún, I, p. 44.

that is, they belonged to calpullis. On the other hand, in speaking of the merchants and of the artisans, we are told that there was every class of person in the calpullis (12) and that the merchants and arti-

12. Zurita, p. 143.

sans were "of these wards and calpullis" (13), assertions from which

13. Zurita, p. 105.

463 we can infer that the merchants as well as the artisans and laborers were in the calpullis.

Furthermore, on the one hand, in general the parents educated their children to exercise the same occupations [as they, the parents] (14), and on the other is made a statement of much importance:

14. Mendocino Codex [Códice Mendocino], folio 70; Zurita, p. 110, III; Román y Zamora, II, p. 127, etc.

that upon the birth of children of the common people they placed in their hands miniatures of the instruments of their calling (see p. 28). One gathers from this that from birth it was known what a child's occupation would be when he reached adulthood; and that this occupation usually was that of his father, that is, that there was inheritance of the productive occupation. This surely also happened with the merchants, since we are told that they could only be merchants with the permission of the rulers or because they came to it through inheritance (15). We thus have, beyond doubt,

15. Zurita, p. 142.

inheritance of occupation in the social division of labor.

463 x618 795 It appears that in Tenochtitlan this division of labor occurred by wards, as in Tezcoco (where those in one ward had the same occupation, all those of the ward must have it and there must be no mixture of others with them (16)), since in all the provinces of Mexico

16. Torquemada, I, p. 146.

the specialization in things to sell was by "wards" (17). Moreover

17. Motolinía, Memorials [Memoriales], p. 236.

—and this is the fundamental proof—one can establish a correlation between names /p. 49/ of "wards" and occupations (see p. 50), drawing together scattered data or Torquemada's and Sahagún's which refer to this division of labor and to the specialization by

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groups in the worship of the deities. Three affirmations reinforce this correlation: one concerning the magical consecration of the people to an activity which was made before some idol (see p. 28), probably the ward idol; another was that the festivals of some months were "like" guild festivals (18), that is, of isolated groups, probably

18. Jonghe, p. 292.

of wards; and finally, that in the festivals for the idols were involved the members of a single "ward" and not those of others (19).

19. Magliabecchi, Commentaries on the Section [Comentarios a la Sección] 92.

The result of this correlation between activities, "wards" and deities is presented here in a table, and explains completely for us the character of the social division of labor in Tenochtitlan: it was by "wards" which separated tribal chiefs, pulque-makers, merchants, etc. It is a division which could be called a class one only with difficulty, since it makes no sense, for example, to speak of the class of pulque-makers since, if that were the case, they would be on an equal "class" footing with the merchants. It would appear rather to correspond to a guild division, since the class of a guild is the organization of people who do the same work (20) and that

20. Boak, A.R., and Pirenne, H., 1944.

within them obtains the separation between manual workers and directors which was present also among the Tenochcas, as we have already seen (see p. 23). However it would be very strange to speak of a guild of rulers, as we would have to do if we accepted that the division of labor by "wards," which the Tenochcas envinced, was by guilds; and it is to falsify the situation since the lords do not possess the characteristics of manual labor which are basic in a guild organization. I believe I can prove, furthermore, that these "wards" — which probably were calpullis since in general their names do not coincide with those of the tlaxilicallis—were clans, and that therefore the division of labor, like the ownership of the land, the territorial distribution of the population, and the social stratification, were the result of an organization of the Tenochcan population by

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clans. And thus indeed it is not anachronistic to speak of clans of rulers, nor of clans of pulque-makers.

/p. 50/ TABLE OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CALPULLI-WARDS, CALPULLI-TEMPLES, OCCUPATIONS AND DEITIES IN TENOCHTITLAN (1)

1. The names are for the most part of calpulli "wards." Nevertheless at times names of temples were taken which certainly corresponded to "wards." They appear in this case not to correspond to tlaxilacallis, except for Tzapotlan.

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| Calpulli or ward | Occupation | Deities |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Yopico 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12. | Silversmiths, 3, 4, Goldworkers 5, Xochimanques, 6, Water carriers 7, lords and kings 8, Calmecac 9, 11, 12. | Totec 2, 3, Xipe 2, 3, 4, 5, Coatlicue 6, Coatlatona 6, Chalchitlicue 7, 8, 9, Tlaloc 10, Tquiztlimayahuel 11. |
| 2. Huitznahuac 12, 15. | lords 13, fishermen 14, Calmecac 12, 15. | Huitzilopochtli 13, 16, Opochtli 14, Huitznahuac 15, Centzonhuitznahuac 17, Tezcatlipoca 18. |
| 3. Itepeyoc 19. | lords 19. | Huitzilopochtli 19. |
| 4. Amantla 20, 21, 22, 23. | Tultecayotl 22, seamstresses 23, 25, dyers (female) 23, feather workers (female) 23, painters, 24. | Tizahua, Maculiloceloti, Maculitochtli, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepoztecatl 20, Coyotlinahual 21, Chicomexuchitl 24, Xochiquetzal 25. |
| 5. Pochtlan 20, 26. | merchants 20, 26. | The markets in Amantla with 20, and Yiacatecuhtli 26. |
| 6. Auachtlan 27. | merchants 27. | |

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| Calpulli or ward | Occupation | Deities |
|---|---|---|
| 7. Atlauhco 28. | merchants 28. | |
| 8. Acxotlan 29, 30. | merchants 29, 30, 31. | Nahui Ehecatl 30, Chiconquiahuitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzahuac, Nacxitl, Chalmecacihuatl 31. |
| 9. Tlamatzinco 12, 32. | pulque-makers 32, 33, tavery keepers 34, Calmecac 12, 35. | Tlamatzincatl 12, 32, Izquitecatl 33, Coatlicue 35. |
| 10. Atempan 36. | Medicasters and diviners 37. | Toci 36, Mother of the gods 37. |
| 11. Tzonmolco 37, 39, 12. | Makers of the lord's more important vestments 38, calmecac 12, 39. | Xiuhtecuhtli 37, 38, 40, Huehueteotl 38, Ixcozauhqui 39. |
| 12. Tzapotlan 40. | Sellers of Uxitl 40. | Tzapotlatena 40. |
| 13. | Makers of petates 41. | Nappatecuhtli 41. |
| 14. | Precious stone workers 42. | Chicnahuitzcuintli, Nahualpilli, cinteotli Cihuacoatl 42. |

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2. Sahagún I, p. 121, 240.

3. Torquemada, II, p. 58.

4. Torquemada, II, p. 252.

5. Sahagún, II, p. 385.

6. Torquemada, II, p. 254.

7. Sahagún I, p. 40, 116.

8. Sahagún, I, p. 22.

9. Sahagún, I, p. 84.

10. Sahagún, I, p. 84, 87.

11. Torquemada, II, p. 153.

12. Sahagún, I, p. 220. They are included also with Calmecac to Tlillancalco (Cihuacoatl), Tetlanman (Chantico) and Mexico (Tlaloc).

13. Torquemada, I, p. 193.

14. Sahagún, I, p. 39; Torquemada, II, p. 61.

15. Sahagún, I, p. 220.

16. Sahagún, I, p. 137.

17. Sahagún, I, p. 221.

18. Torquemada, II, p. 150.

19. Sahagún, I, p. 215.

20. Sahagún, I, p. 142, 215.

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21. Sahagún, II, p. 389.

22. Sahagún, II, p. 392, 389.

23. Sahagún, II, p. 392.

24. Sahagún, 1, p. 112.

25. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

26. Torquemada, II, p. 272; Sahagun, I, p. 225.

27. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

28. Sahagún, II, p. 350.

29. Sahagún, III, p. 49.

30. Sahagún, I, p. 326.

31. Sahagún, I, p. 42.

32. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

33. Sahagún, I, p. 190.

34. Sahagún, I, p. 112.

35. Torquemada, II, p. 151; Sahagún, I, p. 104.

36. Sahagún, I, p. 179. Sahagún in I, p. 238 says that the cuecuextecan young men go to the ward of Atlampa during this festival.

37. Torquemada, I, p. 234.

38. Sahagún, I, p. 29.

39. Sahagún, I, p. 239.

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40. Sahagun, I, p. 20.

41. Sahagún, I, p. 46; II, p. 59.

42. Torquemada, II, p. 60; Sahagún, II, p. 387, 88.

/p. 53/ THE CALPULLI AS A CLAN

Chapter 6

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/p. 55/ PROOFS THAT THE CALPULLI WAS A CLAN

The territorial organization of Tenochtitlan, the ownership of land, the division of labor and the social stratification, and other aspects of the social organization of Tenochtitlan which were not treated in the first part of this study, such as education (1) and religion

1. See Education among the Aztecs /La Educación entre los Aztecas/, Monzón, 1946.

(2), in which the influence of the calpulli is of great importance, and

2. In the chapter referring to the division of labor I touch lightly upon these relationships between calpullis and religion (p. 49) which suggest problems which should be studied more fully.

which have themselves a determining role, present us with the fundamental problem of the social organization of the Tenochcas: Were the calpullis clans, or simply wards, or guilds, or another type of social organism? Outwardly they have elements of all the foregoing. What was their internal organization? The answer to these questions will give us for sure a correct idea as to the bases of the social organization of the Tenochcas and of its evolutionary stage. Therefore we are going to attempt to answer them. The calpulli (Nahuatl 'large house') is an organism which has been presented as a clan by some authors, or as the remains of a clan by others (see the Introduction), and certainly the calpulli was the Tenochca clan, if the Tenochcas had clans. This granted, in order to know whether the calpulli had

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in that condition, one very clean and swept and the other covered with newly-felled trees. They replied that it was done so that we should go by the cleared road which led to a city named Chalco, where the people would give us a good reception, for it belonged to their Prince Montezuma, and that they had cut the trees and closed up the other road to prevent our going by it, for there were bad passes on it, and it went somewhat round about before going to Mexico, and came out at another town which was not as large as Chalco. Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road, and we began to ascend the mountain with the greatest caution, our allies moving aside the huge thick tree trunks, by which we had to pass, with great labour, and some of them still lie by the roadside to this very day. As we rose higher it began to snow and the snow caked on the ground. Then we descended the hill and went to sleep at a group of houses[1] which they build like inns or hostels where the Indian traders lodge, and we supped well, but the cold was intense, and we posted our watchmen, sentinels, and patrols and even sent out scouts. The next day we set out on our march, and, about the hour of high mass, arrived at a town which I have already said is called Tlamanalco,[2] where they received us well and where there was no scarcity of food.

When the other towns [in the neighbourhood] heard of our arrival, people soon came from Chalco and joined with the people of Tlamanalco, and they came from Chimaloacan and Mecameca and from Acacingo[3] where the canoes are, for it is their port, and other small towns whose names I cannot now call to mind. All of them together brought a present of gold and two loads of mantles and eight Indian women and the gold was worth over one hundred

[1] Padre Rivera gives the name as Ithualco (*Anales Mexicanos*).
[2] Amecameca according to Cortés. [3] Ayotzingo.

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the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce animals. They also have in that cursed house many vipers and poisonous snakes which carry on their tails things that sound like bells. These are the worst vipers of all, and they keep them in jars and great pottery vessels with many feathers, and there they lay their eggs and rear their young, and they give them to eat the bodies of the Indians who have been sacrificed, and the flesh of dogs which they are in the habit of breeding. We even knew for certain that when they drove us out of Mexico and killed over eight hundred of our soldiers that they fed those fierce animals and snakes for many days on their bodies, as I will relate at the proper time and season. And those snakes and wild beasts were dedicated to those savage Idols, so that they might keep them company.

Let me speak now of the infernal noise when the lions and tigers roared and the jackals and the foxes howled and the serpents hissed, it was horrible to listen to and it seemed like a hell. Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzcapotzalco,[1] a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] 463 581 In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,* and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he 463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers 351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

*[i.e., buffoons.—Ed.]

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were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

## CHAPTER XCII.

**How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.**

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

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181 like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of
701 importance, and worthy of serious attention.

852 Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaelteltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 490, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon ponianle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para
463 "defender á si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tratado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI. pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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that it could not accumulate so as to exert any influence in the hands and in behalf of any individual or of his immediate relatives.

Consequently, aboriginal Mexico could have neither nobility nor patriciate, and when such a privileged class does not exist, it is useless to seek for another to which the term "unprivileged" or "common" can be applied.

In a future essay we shall attempt to prove that the Mexicans had no hereditary caste of "medicine men" or priests. We have elsewhere shown that there was no caste of warriors.[66] The mode of Tenure and distribution of the soil precludes all possibility of the existence of a permanent class of "tillers." It yet remains to cast a glance at the so-called artisans, and at the traders or "merchants."

Neither of these two professions were held to personal improvement of their garden lots ("tlalmilli") but, like officers, they could have them improved by others under their names and for their benefit.[67] The statement of Zurita "that a quarter was composed of all kinds of people"[68] disposes of the opinion, that such quarters contained each but members *practising a single trade*. Thus there was no geographical agglomeration by professions.[69] Again, no rule existed enforcing or establishing hereditament in kind of work, or manner of sustenance. The son might embrace, at his choice, his father's occupation, but *nothing*

[65] Compare the burial rites of the Mexicans as reported by the majority of old sources.

[66] "*Art of War*" (p. 98, notes 8, 9, 40). *Zurita* "*Rapport*," (p. 48), "Ils étaient tenus seulement au service militaire, pour lequel aucune excuse n'était admise."

[67] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 426, note 96). Consult the authorities therein quoted.

[68] "*Rapport*" (p. 224).

[69] It is mostly on the authority of *Sahagun* (Lib. IX, vol. II), that the settlement by professional clusters is admitted. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 292 and 293, "*Duodécima Relacion*," p. 388, Kingsborough, Vol. IX) also says that, at Tezcuco, each profession had its own quarter in the pueblo. But an attentive reading of the first author named (Cap. XVIII, p. 392), where he treats of the featherworkers "De los oficiales que labran pluma, que hacen plumajes, y otras cosás de la misma," satisfies us at once of the fact, that the venerable author only refers to worship of certain idols in a certain quarter, and not to compulsory residence therein, of certain kinds of working men. Nowhere does he say that the "Amantecas" were *all* featherworkers. He mentions a barrio "Amatlan" or "Amantla." Might it be the "Amanalco" of Vetancurt? Compare also *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, cap. XXX, pp. 39 and 60), *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 67 and 68). "*El conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Doc. Vol. I). "Le piazze de i mercati," (pp. 392 and 393), although concerning the markets exclusively. *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, p. 138, cap. 138), "i estos andaban por los Barrios, porque en ellos havia de todo género de gentes." Copied after Zurita *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. IV), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. LI, p. 361).

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463 *compelled* him to do it.[70] It is true, that such as formed gold or silver into pleasing or (as viewed from eastern notions of taste) rather striking shapes, enjoyed some particular consideration; but this was not so much in deference to their skill, as to the *material* upon which they exerted it. Gold ("teo-cuitlatl") and silver ("Iztac-teo-cuitlatl") were regarded as "offal of gods." Thus they became objects of "medicine," and those who wrought them into useful or decorative articles, were near to the "medicine-men" themselves.[71] Furthermore, the manner and method of working was so slow, it relied so exclusively upon that patient
554 disregard of time which characterizes even the manufacture of a simple arrowhead, that no accumulation of wealth could result from it.[72] Besides, the artisan had, like any other member of the kin, to furnish his share towards the requirements of public

[70] *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," p. 129). "Les chefs inférieurs et les personnes du peuple élevaient aussi leurs enfants avec beaucoup de soin, leur inspiraient l'horreur du vice, leur recommandaient le respect des dieux, les conduisaient aux temples et les faisaient travailler suivant leurs dispositions; cependant, en général, le fils embrassait la profession de son père." *Gomara* ("*Conquista*, etc.," Vedia, Vol. I, p. 438). "Los pobres enseñaban á sus hijos sus oficios, no porque no tuviesen libertad para mostrarlles otro, sino porque los aprendiesen sin gastar con ellos." *Carlos Maria de Bustamante. Tezcoco en los vltimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes,"* 1826. Parte tercera, (Cap. III,
564 p. 212). "Enseñaban ademas los oficios á que tenian aficion." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 462). "The sons generally learned the trade of their fathers," but they were not bound to do it, and therefore no "caste."

[71] The words are composed of: "Iztac," white object (*Molina* II, p. 49), "Teotl" god (II, p. 101), "Cuitlatl" filth, therefore gold was "offal of God," and silver, "white offal of God."

325 The working of gold and silver was regarded, by the Mexicans, as an invention of "Quetzalcohuatl." *Sahagun* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 243), "y los vasallos que tenia eran todos oficiales de artes mecánicas, y diestros para labrar las piedras verdes, que se llaman chalchivites, y tambien para fundir plata, y hacer otras cosas; y estas artes
685 todos tuviéron principio y origen de l dicho *Quetzalcoatl*." (Also Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 113, etc.). Theft of gold or precious stones was punished by death through sacrifice. *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 487). *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, p. 484. "Leyes de los Mexicanos").

287 [72] A very remarkable way of manufacturing their most admired works—those made of feathers—is reported by *Mendieta* (Lib. IV, cap. XII, pp. 405 and 406): "And there is, besides, something else to notice of this featherwork, namely: that if there are twenty artisans, they will undertake jointly the manufacture of one piece ("imágen"), for, dividing among themselves the figure of the image in as many parts as there are of their number, each one takes his piece home and finishes it there. Afterwards they all meet again and put their pieces together, thus finishing the figure in as perfect a manner as if one alone had made the whole." (Copied by *Torquemada*, Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 489, and, with slight variations, also by *Velancurt*, Vol. I, p. 389.) In regard to the manner of working, *Torquemada* (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXIV, p. 487), makes the pertinent remark: "All this they worked (as we have said) with other stones, and with flint; and according to the subtlety of the work, I think they must have spent long time in finishing it." See in general *E. B. Tylor* ("*Researches into the Early History of Mankind*," Cap. VII, pp. 187 and 188), also *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, pp. 31 and 32).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



life:[73] hence little was left to him beyond his legitimate wants. We see thus, that hardly any chance was given for the formation of a class which, resting upon the kind of occupation, might assume the position of "caste" in the organization of aboriginal Mexican society.

It is repeatedly asserted, and on high authority, that the merchants or traders of Mexico enjoyed particular privileges. We must premise here that merchants, in the sense of venders of other people's manufactures or products (thus living off of the difference between cost and proceeds) were known only in one way.[74] The name for merchant was "man who exchanges one

[73] That the artisans or mechanics contributed a portion of their wares in the shape of tribute, is amply proven. See for instance, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530. Easily misunderstood!) This passage of Oviedo explains the action of "wrathy chief" towards the "jewellers" and "goldsmiths" at the arrival of Cortés, as related by Tezozomoc, Durán, and by Sahagun. See also: *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 223). *Bustamante* ("*Tezcoco*, etc.," Parte III, cap. V, p. 232). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XV, p. 480). *Bancroft* (Vol. III, cap. VI, pp. 231 and 232).

[74] The existence of currency, or of money, in the shape of grains of cacao, T shapen pieces of tin or copper, and quills filled with gold dust is generally admitted. See for instance, *Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book IV, cap. II, p. 140). *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, cap. XII, pp. 381, 382, and 383). Cacao played, among the ancient Mexicans, the same role as "wampum" did among the northern Indians, for purposes of exchange, but did not go beyond it. In regard to the so-called copper or tin coins, or rather marks or checks, it is well to examine the matter more closely. *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*" in Vedia I, p. 111), says very positively that at Tachco, he obtained sundry small pieces of tin like very thin money ("á manera de moneda muy delgada"), which he indeed found to have been used as currency by the natives. ("halló que en dicha provincia, aun en otras, se trataba por moneda"). *Bernal Diez* (Cap, XCII, p. 89, Vedia II) mentions axes of "brass, copper, and tin" ("hachas de laton y cobre y estaño"), bartered at the market place of Tlatelulco, "and before we left this square ("plaza") we met with other traders, who from what they said, sold gold in grains as they obtained it from the mines, and enclosed in quills of the geese of the land, and so thin ("asi blancos" so white) that the gold might be seen, and by the length and size of the quills they determined how many mantles or "jiquipiles" (bags of 8000 grains) of cacao they were worth, or slaves, or any other things for which they bartered it," ("ó otra qualquier cosa á que lo trocaban"). *Gomara* ("Conquista, etc.," pp. 348 and 349). "But the chief one is cacahuatl, which serves as coin. . . ." "Their buying and selling consists in exchanging one thing for another. . . ." (Id., p. 451). "No tenian moneda, teniendo mucha plata, oro y cobre, y sabiéndolo hundir y labrar, y contratando mucho en ferias y mercados. Su moneda usual y corriente es cacauatl ó cacao." *Oviedo* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, pp. 316, 317. Lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 530) mentions only cacao as currency. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. XIV, p. 260). "It was customary at these marts ('en estos mercados') to exchange ('trocar') one thing for another, and even nowadays this is sometimes practised; but everywhere cacao is most commonly used. In other parts they used, besides, some small mantles which they call Patolquachtli. . . . . Elsewhere they used plentifully some copper coins, almost like unto ("de hechura") a Tau T, two or three fingers wide and made of thin plates ("planchuela") some thicker, other less thick. Where there was much gold ("donde avia mucho Oro"), small quills filled with it, circulated among the Indians," ("traian unos Cannutillos de ello, y andaba entre los Indios mucho de esto"). *Alonso Zuazo* ("*Carta*